From the Illinois Monthly Journal, July, 1832. THE STATE OF THE SOUTH.

Unaccustomed and discordant sounds reach us from the land of the Marious and the Pinckneys. From that very quarter from which we have been wont to look for the brightest and most attractive examples of large and liberal policy, of magnanimous zeal for the common good, and of loyal attachment to the Union, our ears are now invaded by the tones of complaint and The complaint is TAXATION-the renate is DISUNION.

The complaint and the menace have been

regarded by some as fit subjects for merriment and ridicule. In that light we cannot regard When one member of this Confederact speals to the justice of the rest, the appeal ought to be heard. If, provoked by real or seeming delay, resort is had to threats, the natural impulse to retort ought not to be permitted to disturb the even course of reason.

The issue is between South Carolina and the country. To understand, precisely, what it is, it may be well to review, briefly, the revenue system for the last twenty years. We begin with the late war. That war was preceded by an embargo, which, during its continuance, suspended all commerce. When the embargo suspended all commerce. When the embargo was removed, commerce did not return to its accustomed channels. War strode across the paths of commercial intercourse, and, in some quarters, entirely cut off, and in others greatly interrupted, all communication. Our people could no longer be supplied from abroad; and, as a natural consequence, manufactures grew up at home. When peace returned, it became a question whether the protection which the war had incidentally afforded, should be with-The Congress of 1816 determined that it should not. In 1824, it was found that the tection granted in 1816 was insufficient, and protection granted in 1810 was still the tariff was revised, and in 1828 was still farther amended. So far, the Legislature rec-ognised, and steadily acted on, the principle of protection to domestic industry. The succes-sive acts of Congress, with the exception of a few clauses forced in to reader them unpalatable. were thoroughly imbued with this principle. In the mean time, South Carolian, who had strenuously urged protection in 1816, wheeled round and as strenuously opposed protection in 1824 and 1828. While these things were taking place, the public debt was gradually diminishing under the operation of the sinking fund. As the period of its extinction approached, it became necessary again to revise the revenue purp section. It became a question, of course, on whi h class of articles the duties should be reduced. South Carolina demanded a general reduction on all imports; and this demand was resisted, on the ground that to grant it was to destroy the manufactures, which had been established on the faith of Government, repeatedly pledged by solemn acts of legislation. This subject was fully discussed and thoroughly sifted at the session of Congress which has just closed. The best exertions of the strongest minds were contributed to its elucidation. Every view which reason, or ingenuity, or interest, or patriotism, could suggest, was presented in the most forcible manner. Every motive which can actuate the human heart was successively and powerfully addressed. The result was, th adoption of a tariff of duties by numerous ma-jorities, in both Houses, in which the principle of protection was distinctly recognised, and by which the gross amount of the national revenue will be reduced many millions. This tariff, will be reduced many minious. This unita-however, did not satisfy South Carolina. All her members voted against it, except three, who belong to what is called "the Union party;" of the most distinguished among with the impressive emphasis of an deerared, with the impression were not satisfactorily adjusted then, he believed that South Carolina would not bear the existing legislation five months longer! The question has not, in his judgment, and in the judgment of those who think with him, been satisfactorily adjusted. God grant that his auticipation may

not prove prophetic!
Was the majority right? It was admitted,
on all hands, that the abandonment of the protective principle involved the ruin of the manufacturing interests. It was contended by some, and strongly denied by others, that to retain that principle was to prostrate the South. If it be true that the vital interests of the two great divisions of the country are so irreconcilably opposed, then is our goodly ship, the Constitution, a wreck, and the law of selfpreservation rises above all other law, to imerious supremacy. Is it true?

Almost the first consideration which presents

itself to the mind, pondering this question, is, that the ground of complaint in the South has been entirely changed, within the last five The first complaint was, that the price cles was increased by the whole amount of the duties imposed, and that the enhanced price was a tax on the consumer, for the beneof the manufacturer. It was predicted, when the tariff of 1824 was under debate, that the duties then proposed would cause a great rise in the price of imports. The duties had, but no such consequences followed. On the contrary, prices fell. Fact touched the theory, and it fell, crumbling into shapeless ruin. And now the ground of complaint is changed. A new theory is constructed to meet the exigency of the case. The consumer no longer pays the duties on imports—the producer of the exports pays them all. The States, or the cotton-growing States, produce, it is said, two-thirds of the exports, and theretore pay two thirds of the revenue; and are sly oppressed.

A startling and appalling inference imme-diately and irresistibly follows upon the admis-sion of this theory. It is, that our present systems of deriving revenue from imposts enables foreign nations to throw the burden of taxation on whatever section of the Union to tever section of the Union they please. By admitting the productts of some States and excluding those of the others, the Europe an Powers could exert a tremendous influe on our internal relations. Another inference, not less appalling or irresistible, is, that it lights up the flame of eternal discord among the States. It introduces a topic of everlasting and contention and debate. It has alreads given birth to the monstrous proposition, that, in justice to the South, the custom houses should be abolished, that the revenue should be raised from direct taxes alone, imposed equally upon the manufactures and products of the North and West, and upon the products

of the South. A theory which leads to such results ma justly be pronounced doubtful. Another weighty circumstance is, that its correctness is ques tioned and denied, not only by Northern Western statesmen, who might be liable bias of interest, but by most eminent and gifted characters at the South. And another is, tha no work on political economy, of any reputa-tion, gives it the smallest countenance. It is a spurious and unacknowledged offspring of the doctrine of free trade. The convictions of some who adopt this theory are doubtless sincere but is individual conviction, especially when opposed, to say the least, by individual convicopposed, to say the least, by individual courtestion equally sincere, sufficient warrant for the

We do not propose to enter upon an exami-

nation of this theory. It is sufficient for us, that it is of doubtfel authority. It is enough for us, that there exist causes for the alleged distress at the South, which lie far deeper than the tariff; causes inwrought into the very fabric and texture of Southern society; causes created by the natural course of events in a country where large quantities of fresh, fertile, untilled, and cheap land are constantly in the market. We must say, too, that we do attribute not a little of the depression which South Carolina, in particular, sustains, to the political excitement which prevails there. Peaceful men do not like to remain in a land of discord. Men attached to the Union, and accustomed to regard it as the fruitful source of blessing and benefit, consecrated by time, and endeared by the remembrance of common auffering, com-mon toil, and common danger, are ready to remove from a land, even though it be the land of their birth, where harsh and ungrateful sounds of disunion perpetually invade

question now is, will South Carolina nullify? will South Carolina stand up and say, "because the manufacturing States would not abandon the protection of their vital interests; because, conceding much, they would not sur-render all; because they would offer no oblation, so precious as their very existence, in sacrifice to a new theory; because they believe that the distress of my people is attributable in great part to other causes than to the protectheir industry, I WILL DISSOLVE THE
"Arnold once exclaimed, when irritated by the acts of the Continental Congress, "I will pull down their temple of Liberty about their ears!" Will South Caroline in the continent of the contine ominous example?

We would hope for better things; but we confess we greatly fear the worst. We believe that it is high time that the mind of the public that it is high time that the mind of the public should be prepared for a serious attempt to break up and destroy the Union. And we re-gard nullification as precisely the worst way in which the attempt could be made; as a way more certainly leading to the issue of vivil and servile war—than any other. issue of the contest, none can doubt.

If our feeble voice might be heard in South Carolina, we would, in the name of the people of the West, implore them to forbear. Laying aside everything like taunt and bitterness, we would entreat them to remember the days of old, when the people of this great Confederacy were united as one man. Let them wait for the future. Let them try the effect of the revised tariff. Let them examine more carefully the causes of their distress, if indeed they suffer. And when they become thoroughly convinced that their fathers and our fathers erred in their efforts to establish and consolidate the Union; that those were vain efforts to change the principles of repulsion, which the very nature of things has planted between the North and the South, into principles of attraction and co-besion; when they are fully satisfied by the clearest reasons and most certain facts, that the great experiment has resulted in nothing but ruin to the South, and unnatural prosperity to other sections-in the binding of the liv dead-then let them cut asunder the cord which binds them to their brethren but, in the name of our fathers, and in the

There is a view of this subject to which we feel reluctant to advert, but which deserves serious attention. What course ought to be taken in regard to South Carolina, should she raise her hand against the Union? Should she lifying law, ought ovGernment to ld everything without a struggle, and with draw its custom-house, its courts, and its offi-cers, from her territory? We think otherwise. A State is no more at liberty to recede from a entract, than an individual. If an individual refuse to comply with the terms of his con-tract, he must be compelled by force. Under our Constitution, the Supreme Court is appointed the arbiter between the State and the eral Government. But South Carolina rejects the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. She claims to construe the Constitution for herselt If she may, the other States may. If she find there a warrant for nullification, the others may find as ample a warrant for nullifying her nullification. If she maintain her act by force, the others may, nay, must, subdue force by force. For South Carolina cannot be permitted to withdraw in peace. To permit it, would be to break up the Union, not into two or three ifederacies, but into as many separate, independent, hostile Governments, as there are States. To permit it, would be treachery to ourselves and to the world. To permit it, would be to bequeath to our children an inher-itance of intestine discords and civil wars, and to extinguish the last and brighest hope of the friends of freedom.

For us in the West, we are firmly attached Its broad shield sheltered our infancy. Its wise policy quickened and pro-tected our growth. Its noble institutions sustain and advance the vigor of our maturer years. with the dwellers on the other side of the mountains, and are thus bound to the Union by ties of affection, as well as by the bonds of interest. In the language of one of our most gifted wri-ters, "Every link of the golden, and, we hope, perpetual chain of the Union, will be grasped as firmly by the citizens of the West as of the dantic. We flatter ourselves that we have had Atlantic Vestern thermometer, in this respect. We have everywhere seen and felt a spirit, which ha riven us the assurance of conviction, that the pularity of that demagogue would be blasted. and would wither forever, who should, for a moment, manifest the remotest incipient wish to touch the chain of this Union with an unbal-lowed hand." " " Whatever attempt may be made to disaffect, alienate, or sever one ction of this great Union from the rest, may iod avert the omen! that attempt will not com mence with us. They may reproach us with being rough, untrained, and backwoodsmen; hut, as a people, we are strong for the Union, and the whole Union. Every true son of the West will join in the holiest aspirations, csto cina! May it last as long as the sun and a endure!" C.

Fun is occasionally made about the not very ncommon name of Smith. But, anciently it was both an uncommon and a worshipful name. In the twelfth century, and even later, the smith was the chief actisan of a communi tr, and its most stalwart man. And, among the ancient Greeks, the smith's was a craft of mystery, if not of magic. He forged the armor that guarded the person of the warrior, who wielded a sword of such temper, that it seemed enchantment, cut through iron and brass and yet could sever a hair upon water. ancient laws of England, the smith's person was protected by a double penalty, and in Wales he was one of the great officers who sat in the hall with the King and Queen.

WANTED, a small girl to mind a child. A V girl ten or twelve years of age may hear of a good situation by applying at this office.

MAN, surveyor and draughtsman, who has A four or five hours of spare time per day, wishes to get an engagement in drawing maps, charts, &c. Apply at No. 470 Ninth street, between D and E. Prospectus of the National Republican.

Believing that the time has arrived when the great Republican party of the United States ought to be fairly represented in the daily press of the National Metropolis, we have embarked in the enterprise of supplying the citizens of the District of Columbia with a daily publication, under the title of the "NATIONAL REPUBLICAN."

In its political department, this journal will advocate and defend the principles of the Repub-lican party, and endeavor to disabuse the public mind of groundless prejudices which have been engendered against it, by the false accusations of its enemies. Having the utmost confidence that the administration of Mr. Lincoln will be such as to merit our approbation, we expect to yield it a cordial, but not a servile support. In the great issue that is likely to be made with his administration, by the enemies of the Republican party, the people of Washington and the District of Columbia have more at stake than the people of any other portion of our common country. We believe that to support Mr. Lincoln's administration will be synonymous with maintaining the in-tegrity of the Federal Union, against the machin-ations of those who would rend it anunder. No one can doubt upon which side of this issue the people of Washington will be found, when they people of Washington will be found, when they come to realize that it is fairly forced upon them. We feel confident, therefore, that in yielding to the administration of Mr. Lincoln a cordial support, we shall have the sympathy of an immense majority of the people of this District and vicin-

It is not our design, however, to make the National Republican a mere political paper. We intend, that as a medium of general and local news, it shall not be inferior to any other journal published in this city. We shall pay particular attention to questions of local policy, and advocate such reforms as we may deem essential to the prosperity of the city, and to the advance-ment of the moral and material welfare of its

We deem it unnecessary, however, to multiply promises, as the paper will immediately make its appearance, and will then speak for itself. It will be published every morning, and de-livered to city subscribers at six cents per week. Mail subscribers, \$3.50 a year, payable in ad-

The publication office is at the corner of Indi-

ana avenue and Second street LEWIS CLEPHANE & CO.

## Some Opinions of Mr. Lincoln.

SELECTED VERBATIM FROM HIS SPEECHES, AND PERTINENT TO THE PRESENT OCCASION.

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as 1 understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the out spreading of the in-stitution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either Congress or courts. The people of the United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and courts-not to overthrow the Constitution, but overthrow the men who pervert the Constitu-tion!"-Speech at Cincinnati, September 18, 1859.

"I hold myself under constitutional obligations to allow the people in all the States, with out interference, direct or indirect, to do exact ly as they please; and I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them, even if there were no such constitutional obligation. I can only say again, that I am placed improperlyaltogether improperly, in spite of all that I can say—when it is insisted that I entertain any other views or purposes in regard to that mat-ter (slavery.)"—Speech at Jonesborough, Ill., Sept. 16, 1858.
"While it (slavery) drives on in its state of

progress as it is now driving, and as it has driven for the last five years, I have ventured the opinion, and say to day, that we will have no end to the slavery agitation until it takes one turn or the other. I do not mean that when takes a turn toward ultimate extinction it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peace-ful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time, I have no doubt."—Speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858.

"Mr. Douglas's popular sovereignty, as a principle, is simply this: If one man chooses to make a slave of another, neither that man nor anybody else has a right to object."-Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.

" I have intimated that I thought the agitation (of slavery) would not cease until a crisis should be reached and passed. I have stated in what way I have thought it would be reached passed. We might, by arresting the fur-spread of it, and placing it where the and passed. placed public mind should rest in the belief that it was n the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed for-ward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this Government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction; and when desire to see the further spread of it arrested. I only say that I desire to see that done which ers have first done. It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this Government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it—he as sumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the Government, they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal."—Speech at Alton, Oct. 18, 1858.

Let me say I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist ng them they would not introduce it, it did now exist among us, we should not in-stantly give it up. This I believe of the masses, North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slave. any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were now out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel alaye masters.

"When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the say ing. I surely will not blame them for not do ing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would

think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to de nounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and it mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feel-ing, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that are

onvince me, that whatever of high hope (as I

When they remind us of their constitutional when they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugi-tives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery that our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one."—Speech at Ottowa, Ill., Aug.

them equals. It does seem to me that sys

tems of gradual emancipation might be adopt ed; but for that tardiness in this respect, i

will not undertake to judge our brethren of the

21, 1858. · Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union, save and except this very institu-tion of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty perity. What has ever interest this institution and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery-by spreading it out, and making it bigger?

You may have a wen or cancer on your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it to engraft it, and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard as a wrong."—Speech at Alton, Oct.

"I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) "I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional fugitive slave law. As the right is constitutional, I agree that the legislation shall be granted to it, and that not that we like the institution of slavery. We profess to have no taste for running and catching negroes; at least, I profess no taste for that job at all. Why, then, do I yield support to a fugitive slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guar anties that right, can be supported without it."—Speech at Alton, Oct. 15, 858.

"The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the insti-tution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institut of slavery in this country as a wrong, is the sentiment of the Republican party. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet having a due regard for these, they desire s policy in regard to it that looks to its not cre ating any more danger. They insist that is should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. If there be a man among us does not think that the institution of wrong in any of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to dis regard its actual presence among ns, and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to diaregard the constitu-tional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform."—Speech at Allon, 64, 15, 183 Alton, Oct. 15, 1858

A FEW WORDS TO THE SOUTH.

"We the Republicans, and others, forming the opposition of the country, intend to 'stand by our guns,' to be patient and firm, and in the by our guns, to be patient and urm, and in the long run to beat you. When we do beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as nearly as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institution; to abide by promise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you as far as degenerated men (if we have generated) may, according to the of those noble fathers-Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we are; that there is no dif-ference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognise and of circumstances. We mean to recognise and bear in mind, always, that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and to treat you accordingly.—Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.

DOUGLAS AND JOHNSON PLATFORM

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the nion, in Convention assembled, hereby de clare our affirmance of the resolutions upani mously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Incinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matter; and we recommend as the only furthe resolutions the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United

States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the

age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication be-tween the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitution al government aid as will insure the construc of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to our selves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the concernent of State Leg

islatures to defeat the faithful execution of the ugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary n their effect.

Resolved, That in accordance with the in terpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally the same has seen, or shall necessary be, many determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General GovREPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our

country, unite in the following declarations : First. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free Government and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what

pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions n its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evidenced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting peo ple of Kausas—in constraing the personal rela-tion between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely lo-cal interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse

of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people. Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is in-dispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public Treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and cor ruptions at the Federal metropolis show that ar entire change of Administration is imperatively

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself with cotemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and har-

mony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of Freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, when-ever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to sla-

very in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth. That in the recent vetoes by their Fed-Tenna. That in the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration those Territories, we find a practical illustration. of the boasted Democratic principle of non-in-tervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstrat of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh. That Kansas should of right be im mediately admitted as a State under the Consti-

tution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we company that policy of retires. country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices chanics and manufacturers an adequat reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and inde

pendence.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Fourteenth. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrates force.

itizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether nytive or naturalized, both at home and abroad

Fifterth That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a nationcharacter, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives

and property of its citizens.

Sexteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly es-

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